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The seal on the cover shows St. Michael and the dragon and is described on page 13. The drawing is based on a cast of the seal in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC BUILDING AND WORKS
ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND HISTORIC BUILDINGS

The History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock

by the late
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The History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock

THE first religious house at Wenlock was a nunnery, which was founded by Merewald, king of Mercia, about 680, for his daughter, St. Milburge. She was a gentle lady to whom miracles were attributed in her lifetime, and she died as abbess about 722 on February 23rd.[1] Her name is found in three English Calendars of the eleventh century, dated before the Norman Conquest, one of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the other two of West Country origin.[2]

In 1901 the late Dr. Cranage, Dean of Norwich, conducted an excavation, and the foundations of a small church were first discovered. The late Professor Baldwin Brown agreed with Dr. Cranage that probably these foundations were a part of the nunnery church of which St. Milburge was abbess: 'The type of apse used, internal and not external, is not unknown in pre-Conquest times. The roughness of the foundations is not surprising in seventh century work. The extreme length of the building which would be contained by the walls is 38 feet and breadth 28 feet.'[3] The nunnery was destroyed by the Danes when they ravaged and conquered Mercia, probably about 874.

The second foundation at Wenlock was a minster built by the friend of Edward the Confessor, Leofric, the powerful earl of Mercia. He founded several religious houses before he died in 1057, and gave them rich ornaments and endowed them with lands, among them Coventry, Stow, Wenlock, and Leominster.[4] The Latin word *monasterium*, from which minster is derived, frequently denoted a college of secular canons in the years immediately before the Norman Conquest. The minster at Wenlock may have been built about 1050;[5] it was dedicated in honour of St. Milburge.

In 1086 in Domesday Book it is recorded that Earl Roger 'has made the church of St. Milburge into an abbey. The same church holds Wenlock and held it in the time of Edward the Confessor,'[6] and there follows a list of other neighbouring manors held by the church of St. Milburge then and in 1086. The sworn witnesses added that in the time

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, February, iii. 395, 396.

[2] *English Kalendars before 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (Henry Bradshaw Society), 1934.

[3] D. H. Cranage, 'The Monastery of St. Milburge at Much Wenlock', *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 107, fig. 1.

[4] Florence of Worcester (*ob.* 1118), *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, i, 216 (English Historical Society); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, i. 237 (Rolls Series).

[5] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 106, 132.

[6] *Victoria County History of Shropshire*, i. 312.

of Edward the Confessor the church of St. Milburge held Godestoke; Earl Roger gave it to his chaplains, but the church of St. Milburge ought to have it.

This evidence, taken only twenty years after the Norman Conquest, shows that in the reign of Edward the Confessor the church of St. Milburge was very well endowed with lands in the county of Shropshire, and in 1086 retained almost all of them, and further that Earl Roger had changed the status of the church of St. Milburge and made it into a monastery, here loosely called an abbey.

Earl Roger was Roger de Montgomery who was regent in Normandy during the invasion of England by William the Conqueror; he arrived in England in December 1067, was created an earl at Christmas, and received among other grants one-third of the county of Sussex including Chichester and Arundel Castle and in 1070 the earldom of Shropshire with the castles of Shrewsbury and Montgomery and the lordship of the Welsh Marches.[1] The Norman historian Orderic Vitalis, whose father was in the service of Earl Roger, went to school at Shrewsbury as a little boy, and probably he remembered seeing the great Earl Roger before his father sent him away in 1085 at the age of ten to be tonsured in the Norman monastery of St. Evroul.

Orderic wrote in his Ecclesiastical History that Earl Roger was a benefactor of Cluny,[2] and according to an inscription set up in the sacristy at Cluny between 1738 and 1757, it was Earl Roger in England who found the money to build the new and spacious refectory of that famous monastery.[3] When Earl Roger desired that monks should serve the church of St. Milburge, his thoughts turned naturally to Cluny, then at the height of its fame under the great abbot St. Hugh. It had been hard in 1077 to persuade Abbot Hugh to send four monks to a distant land across the sea to the little stone church below the castle of Lewes at the urgent entreaty of William de Warenne, Earl Roger's Sussex neighbour. When Earl Roger asked that Cluniac monks should come to serve the church of St. Milburge, they were sent not from the abbey of Cluny but from the priory of St. Mary of La Charité on the Loire, not far from Nevers, and about 142 miles south of Paris. La Charité had been refounded in 1059 and became so important that it was known as the eldest daughter of Cluny, and Prior Gerard of La Charité helped in the spread of the Cluniac Order.[4] About 1080, or earlier, a large priory dependent on La Charité was

[1] *Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne, i. 230–2.

[2] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. A. Le Prevost, ii. 415.

[3] *Recueil du Millénaire de Cluny*, ii. 246, 247; R. Graham and A.W. Clapham, 'The Monastery of Cluny, 910–1155', *Archaeologia*, lxxx. 154, 155.

[4] P. Beaussart, *L'Église de La Charité sur Loire* (1929).

founded at Longueville[1] near Dieppe, and Longueville was a link between La Charité and other English Cluniac priories.[2]

The original charter by which Earl Roger made the church of St. Milburge subject to the priory of St. Mary of La Charité, with the stipulation that 100 shillings a year should be paid to La Charité, has disappeared. It is known only from a late transcript in the Gough MSS. in the Bodleian Library; although the language is inflated the substance of the charter is accepted by historians as genuine.[3] The original was sent to La Charité, and it is significant that Pope Paschal II, who dedicated the priory church of La Charité on March 9th, 1117, six days later confirmed in a bull all the possessions of La Charité, including in England, *ecclesiam Sancte Milburgis cum universis possessionibus et appendiciis suis.*[4]

In the excavation conducted by Dr. Cranage in 1901, when the foundations of the nunnery were revealed, he discovered farther to the east 'good foundations, about 1 ft. six below the soil, of a great central apse and of a small apse south of it corresponding to which there was doubtless', he wrote, 'a northern apse, and an unusual feature is the thick wall across the chord of the central apse' (Plate I). The foundations of these apses shown on the plan of the excavations of 1901 have been drawn to scale and inserted, to illustrate this subject, upon the plan of the Priory drawn by Mr. P. W. Hubbard in 1922. Dr. Cranage believed these foundations to be those of the east end of a church which he assumed was begun by Earl Roger about 1080 or rather later[5] On the other hand, Sir Alfred Clapham, late President of the Society of Antiquaries, then suggested that the thick wall across the apse pointed to the apses being part of the minster built by Leofric, earl of Mercia, about 1050.[6] The late Professor Baldwin Brown left the question open; he wrote 'it is either late Saxon or early Norman'.[7]

A close study of the historical evidence leads me to follow Mr. Clapham's suggestion that these apses were those of Earl Leofric's church. There is no contemporary evidence that Earl Roger built a new church for the small number of monks who came from La Charité to take possession of the lands of the church of St. Milburge, and to serve God, as I suggest, in the minster which Earl Leofric had built about thirty years before. When in 1089 four monks came from

[1] Ibid., p. 17; *Newington Longville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, p. 12 (Oxfordshire Record Society).

[2] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, ed. Bernard et Bruel, vi. 399–401.

[3] Gough MSS. iii. 591; printed in R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii. 228, 229. Cf. *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, i. 92, no. 358.

[4] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, v. 204–6.

[5] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 108.

[6] Ibid., p. 132.

[7] *The Arts in Early England*, ii. 472 (2nd ed.).

La Charité to Bermondsey they served God in the new and handsome church noted as already in existence in 1086 in Domesday,[1] on the royal manor of Bermondsey. The first Cluniac monks who came to Thetford served the old cathedral of St. Mary because the bishop's see had been transferred to Norwich in 1094.[2] At Daventry the church, divided into prebends for four canons who served that parish, was converted into a priory also for monks who were invited to come from La Charité; two of these canons asked to become monks, the other two held to their prebends and agreed to continue to serve the parish.[3] It is probable that the procedure at Wenlock was similar, though in this instance there is no record.

William of Malmesbury unwittingly introduced an element of confusion into the story when he wrote, in his histories of the kings, bishops, and abbots of England, that at Wenlock there was an ancient dwelling-place of nuns and that the place was completely deserted when Earl Roger filled it with Cluniac monks.[4] He had forgotten that in another passage he had already mentioned that Earl Leofric had built a minster at Wenlock.[5] Mr. Eyton noticed this discrepancy in William of Malmesbury's history, and Professor Freeman commented that Earl Leofric's foundation, whatever its nature, went on until the changes made by Earl Roger.[6] Wenlock was not deserted. It should be remembered that William of Malmesbury was not born until between 1090 and 1096 and spent most of his life in the Benedictine monastery of Malmesbury.[7] When he told briefly the story of the finding of the body of St. Milburge, he was writing of an event which happened a quarter of a century before he wrote his histories of the kings, bishops, and abbots of England.

In the collection of lives of the saints, once in the library of Romsey Abbey, now MS. Lansdowne 436[8] in the British Museum, there is a life of St. Milburge, and, so far as I can discover, the conclusion of that life has had little notice from English antiquaries. The printed life of St. Milburge is in the collection of lives of the English saints compiled by a monk of St. Albans, John of Tynemouth, before the middle of the fourteenth century.[9] He wrote that he visited Hereford, and it was probably on his account that in 1346 John of Trelleck, bishop of Hereford, borrowed a life of St. Milburge from the prior and monks

[1] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, p. 94.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 141. [3] Ibid., v. 178, no. 2.
[4] *Gesta Pontificum*, 306 (Rolls Series); *Gesta Regum*, i. 266 (Rolls Series).
[5] *Gesta Regum*, i. 237.
[6] Eyton, op. cit. iii. 226; E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, iv. 500, n. 5.
[7] *Dictionary of National Biography*, lxi. 351.
[8] ff. 72v–76; *Analecta Bollandiana*, lvi. 335–9. I am indebted to Mr. Francis Wormald for these references.
[9] *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ed. C. Horstman, i., ix., x., li.; ii. 372.

of Wenlock and gave a bond for its return.[1] John of Tynemouth's life of the saint was an abridgement,[2] and the story of the finding of the body of St. Milburge did not interest him. It is told in detail in MS. Lansdowne 436 and is full of interest; it purports to be taken from the little book which Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, wrote about the miracles of the discovery of St. Milburge. Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia from 1088 to 1101, was a nephew of Pope Urban II, and like his uncle he had been a monk of Cluny under the famous Abbot St. Hugh.[3] The story is as follows: 'It happened that the lordship of Wenlock came to Earl Roger, and for the safety of his soul, in the spirit of devotion, he gave it to God and the monks of La Charité. It pleased the monks who were sent from La Charité to dwell at Wenlock to open the silver shrine which was believed to hold the body of St. Milburge.' I suggest that this silver shrine was one of the costly ornaments given to the minster by Earl Leofric. The shrine was empty. Not long afterwards, about 1101, the story continues, a servant of the monks, Raymond by name, was at work in the monastery of the Holy Trinity which is a stone's throw from the church of St. Milburge, and there he found on an altar an old box and inside it was a very old document which he showed to the monks. It was written in Saxon, and when a faithful interpreter was found the monks learnt that the body of St. Milburge was buried before the high altar of the church of the Holy Trinity which also had an altar dedicated to St. George the Martyr.[4] Alstan, the priest who wrote the record, was a witness thereof. There was nothing above ground of this altar. However, the monks were comforted with the hope that the body of the saint would be discovered, and remembering, as the story continues, the words which are found in Ecclesiasticus xxxii. 19, 'Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done repent not', they sent to St. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to ask what they should do. The Archbishop was a man of discernment, and perceived that this happened 'not by the will of man' (2 Peter i. 2). He bade them dig up the ground and search. So the monks took men to dig and the bones were found, the wooden chest in which the body had been placed over 370 years before had perished, but the iron clamps with which it had been closed remained covered with rust. As a further proof the diggers also uncovered the foundations of the altar before which the body of the saint had been buried. The monks were filled with great

[1] *Hereford Register of John de Trillek*, p. 96 (Canterbury and York Society).

[2] From the life in Add. MS. 34633, ff. 206–16v.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, February, iii. 396; *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ii. 192; cf. Lincoln Cathedral MS. 149 (B. 1. 9), ff. 87–89 b. I am indebted to Mr. Francis Wormald for this last reference.

[4] St. Gregory the Martyr, MS. Lansdowne 436, f. 72v, is a misreading for George; cf. Add. MS. 34633, f. 216, British Museum.

joy; they took up the bones and washed them and laid them in a new shrine in which they remained upon the altar in the same church until the day on which they were translated, i.e. the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. The story continues that miracles followed to attest the truth of the discovery.

After studying the story with its circumstantial details I venture to suggest that the discrepancy between it and William of Malmesbury's brief account is more apparent than real. He wrote that the tomb of the virgin was unknown to the newcomers, everything having been destroyed by the violence of enemies and of time. This tallies with the story in MS. Lansdowne 436. William of Malmesbury continued in these words: 'Lately, *when the building of a new church was begun*, a boy was running hastily over the pavement when the grave of the virgin was broken through and her body disclosed.' The story of the excavation is more probable and it is earlier in date.

William of Malmesbury's words 'when the building of the new church was begun', are the only source on which it is possible to base the building of a Norman church in the place of Earl Leofric's minster.

Work was certainly in progress when the discovery was made of the bones of St. Milburge. I venture to suggest that when the monks came to Wenlock it was soon necessary to separate the monastic choir from the nave, and to lengthen the nave of Leofric's minster to serve as a parish church for the people. The excavation made by the Dean of Norwich in 1901 revealed the site of the nunnery and its relation to the eleventh-century church from which, as we are told in MS. Lansdowne 436, it was a stone's throw away as shown in *Archaeologia* lxxii, 107, fig 1.

An altar would be set up against a stone wall or partition, for there was then no parish church of the Holy Trinity; it was not built until possibly the middle of the twelfth century.[1] The population of Wenlock was purely agricultural at the time of the Norman Conquest. The town grew up gradually around the priory.[2] The parish church was built probably at the expense of the monks to remove the parishioners from the nave, for as the number of the monks increased they required it for their own use. It is significant that the dedication of the parish church to the Holy Trinity is that ascribed to the nunnery in MS. Lansdowne 436, and in MS. 433 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[3]

In 1169–70 the monks of Wenlock were so numerous as to be able to send a prior and twelve monks to found the Cluniac monastery

[1] D. H. S. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, i. 215, 216.
[2] Eyton, op cit., pp. 253, 254.
[3] *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ii. 192. Cf. T. D. Hardy, *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 275, M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ii. 341–2.

of Paisley in Scotland. They also sent a prior and two or three monks to three small dependent priories, Dudley, St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight, and to Church Preen, a few miles from Wenlock, one of only four churches once served by Cluniac monks in this country which are still in use as parish churches.

Vivid scenes at Wenlock are recalled in a letter addressed to the prior of La Charité from the prior and monks of Wenlock about 1163, and entered in a cartulary of La Charité.[1] It begins with a reference to a previous letter from the monks written on Christmas Day in the absence of their prior in which they had praised his zeal and industry for the betterment of the monastery and the right observance of the religious life. So great was their love for their prior that they were ready to be thrust into prison or even to die for him.

'The villeins who held lands by rendering of feudal service had rashly *lifted up their heel* (St. John xiii. 18; cf. Psalm xli. 9) against us and wished to depose the prior and put another in his place. . . . They carried their complaint to the king's court, and although they met with little favour, a writ was sent to the sheriff to inquire into their grievances. . . . The prior offered an inquiry by the tenants in chief and his own free tenants. At last the villeins were convinced of their error and they took a solemn oath over the body of St. Milburge that they would be faithful in all things to the priory. But the next day they went back on their oath and their last error was worse than the first when they threw down their ploughshares. . . . It was Tuesday in Whitsun week. . . and as was our custom we went out from our church in procession carrying the shrine of St. Milburge and with a great company of men and women following us. After a sermon had been preached to them we put forth a sentence of excommunication against those who wrong the church. When our villeins heard that sentence they hastened back to Wenlock before us and beset the three doors of the church, and when we came back they barred our way crying out "Seize the unjust man and kill him". By the mercy of God and with the help of the knights who accompanied us we escaped them, but they threw stones and cudgels after us and some of our monks and servants received severe blows. After this outrage they consented that six monks and four knights should hear their grievances, and both they and the prior would accept the decision of these judges. This was done. The villeins submitted and on the morrow they intended to come back and plough the land. But the messengers whom they sent to you to complain of our prior have come back from La Charité with letters from you. The villeins have gone back on their pact and *lifted their horns* (Psalm lxxv. 4). Saving your reverence you have acted

[1] *Cartulaire de la Charité*, ed. R. de Lespinasse, pp. 149–52.

incautiously, for judgement is not to be given in absence. If you have any mercy, if any virtue of charity, if any bowels of compassion restrain the rage of these wolves while there is time. . . . We would rather die than give in to them.' The story has no ending, but probably the villeins were worsted.

The architecture of the church and other buildings are fully described in an admirable study by the Dean of Norwich:

'The church which was built in the thirteenth century is not less than 350 feet in length. The nave and aisles were of eight bays separated by the central tower from the eastern arm with aisles of seven bays. Each transept had three chapels on its eastern side. Most of this work probably dates from the first half of the thirteenth century, though it may have been begun at the end of the twelfth.'[1] (Plate I and plan.)

There is documentary evidence to support this conclusion and to vindicate the source from whence the monks obtained the money to build the new church. Their benefactors were Isabella de Say and Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford. Isabella de Say was the daughter and sole heir of Helias de Say, baron of Clun, on the border of Wales.[2] About 1199, when Isabella de Say was dying,[3] she gave the church of St. George at Clun and all the chapels dependent upon it with all rights of patronage in pure and perpetual alms to God and St. Milburge of Wenlock and the monks there serving God.[4] It is certain that the monks had little profit from the gift for the next twenty years. Then followed a notable grant from Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, about 1220, the appropriation of the greater part of the revenues of the rectory of Clun and its chapels to the prior and convent of Wenlock. The document is entered on the Patent Roll of 1348,[5] and the reason for the grant is given in these words: 'The monks of Wenlock have no resources nor any benefices assigned for the construction or maintenance of the church of St. Milburge'. It is clear that the building of a new church was an urgent necessity; more altars were needed for over forty monks to celebrate mass each day, and more space was wanted for processions and for pilgrims who came to worship at the shrine of St. Milburge. The project had the approval of the bishop. He judged that it was a pious deed to help in the building or maintenance of the church of St. Milburge, and therefore he assigned to the monks serving God and St. Milburge the church of Clun with all its appurtenances in chapels, lands, tithes, and offerings, and everything else to be used

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 108, 109.
[2] Eyton, op. cit. xi. 228, 235, 236.
[3] *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W. W. Capes, p. 87.
[4] Eyton, op. cit. xi. 237, 238.
[5] Patent Roll 22 Ed. III, pt. 2, m. 12.

for the building of the church of Wenlock. When he instituted Prior Humbert and the monks to the church of Clun, he stipulated that they should entrust the charge of the building of Wenlock church to one of the monks for whose conscientious conduct they could vouch. This monk would be pledged to spend all the revenues received from the church of Clun and its chapels on the building and maintenance of the church of St. Milburge and not on anything else except necessary expenses. Excommunication was laid down as a penalty, with the consent of the monks, if the revenues should be assigned to any other purpose. As the revenues of Clun and its chapels were assessed for taxation in 1291 at £36. 13*s.* 4*d.*[1] and the actual receipts were larger than the assessment, the bishop had provided a very fine endowment for the building of the splendid thirteenth-century church, allowing for the different value of money, not less than £1,000 a year.

King Henry III made large gifts of timber. The kings of England had had the advowson of the priory since 1102 when the late Earl Roger's rebellious son, Robert of Belesme, was outlawed and all his possessions were forfeited to the Crown. Henry III exercised a founder's rights of lodging in the priory on several occasions and ordered wine to be sent from Bristol and stored there for his use.

He was at Wenlock when the building of the church was far advanced in 1232, and issued instructions that the prior was to have from Hawkhurst Wood timber for thirty tie-beams and from the wood of La Lye corbels and other necessaries for the said tie-beams, and no less than fifteen oaks for the building of the church.[2] A few months later the King gave four oaks for the roof of a Lady Chapel,[3] an earlier Lady Chapel which was perhaps replaced by the existing Lady Chapel built early in the fourteenth century. In 1233 the King gave the sacrist of the monastery six oaks for the *horologium*, which may mean the turret-tower for the clock.[4] Among the donors of small sums was Agnes, wife of Walter de Clifford II, who made her will before 1221 and bequeathed £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* to the fabric of the church of Wenlock[5]; and Adam FitzWilliam who charged a piece of land with the payment of £4 to the fabric.[6] It is probable that the building of the new church was finished before the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1249 the prior and monks were wrongfully deprived of the revenues of Clun and did not recover them until 1271.[7]

[1] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, p. 167 (Record Commission).
[2] *Close Rolls 1231–4*, p. 66.
[3] Ibid., p. 94.
[4] Ibid., p. 225; cf. R. P. Howgrave-Graham, 'Some Clocks and Jacks, with Notes on the History of Horology', *Archaeologia*, lxxvii. 257–74.
[5] Harl. Charter 48 C. 25, British Museum.
[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 74, no. 5.
[7] Eyton, op. cit. xi. 238, 239.

As at Cluny a great seven-branched candlestick stood before the high altar.[1] The candlestick at Cluny which was 18½ feet high, was the gift of the Empress Matilda, the daughter of Henry I.[2] It was made of copper gilt of marvellous workmanship and adorned with crystals and beryls and in imitation of the candlestick which Moses commanded Bezaleel, the craftsman of the tribe of Judah, to make for the Tabernacle—on each of the six branches going out of the side three cups made like almond blossoms, a knop and a flower. Bede saw in the candlestick of the Tabernacle a symbol of the universal church of which the shaft was Christ, and the branches were the preachers who have sung a new song in the world.

Dr. Cranage has called particular attention to a feature of the south aisle of the nave:[3]

'The three drop arches facing the nave, nearly 21 feet in height, are blocked up in their upper portions, the masonry resting on slightly stilted segmental-pointed arches just over 11 feet high (Plate II). The next drop arch eastwards was open in the usual way, but there is a low arch at right angles to it, terminating at the east the three bays of the aisle. At the level of the low arches the bays have ribbed vaulting, with bosses but no ridge ribs. The cells are domical, but the stones are laid in the English and not in the French way. The recess west of the bays has a pointed barrel vault over a window whose outer arch is almost semicircular. . . . The blocking and low vaulting are not an afterthought but carefully thought out in connexion with the high arches and vaulting. The reason is that an upper chamber was desired for this part of the aisle. . . . The floor of the chamber is much lower than the eastern part of the aisle vault, and the chamber itself is a finished piece of separate architecture, and not a mere division of a triforium gallery. Like the aisle below, the chamber has three ribbed bays and a narrow bay with pointed barrel vault. Here, however, there is a ridge rib running east and west, an addition which was often made in fine English buildings early in the thirteenth century. The shafts are similar to those of the nave with most beautiful stiff-leaf capitals. The windows are of two lights with an uncusped circle pierced in the plate above (Plate III). The chamber is approached by a doorway at the south-west with segmental-pointed arch. Opposite is the doorway, with lintel and relieving arch, to the newel which starts at this level and leads to the triforium and clerestorey and to the wall-passage east of the great west window. . . . The main approach is through the western range of the claustral buildings.'

[1] MS. 433 Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, f. 66.
[2] *Archaeologia*, lxxx. 162.
[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 111–13.

PLATE I. *South Transept*

PLATE II. *Remains of Church from north west*

PLATE III. *South Aisle of Nave from Cloister*

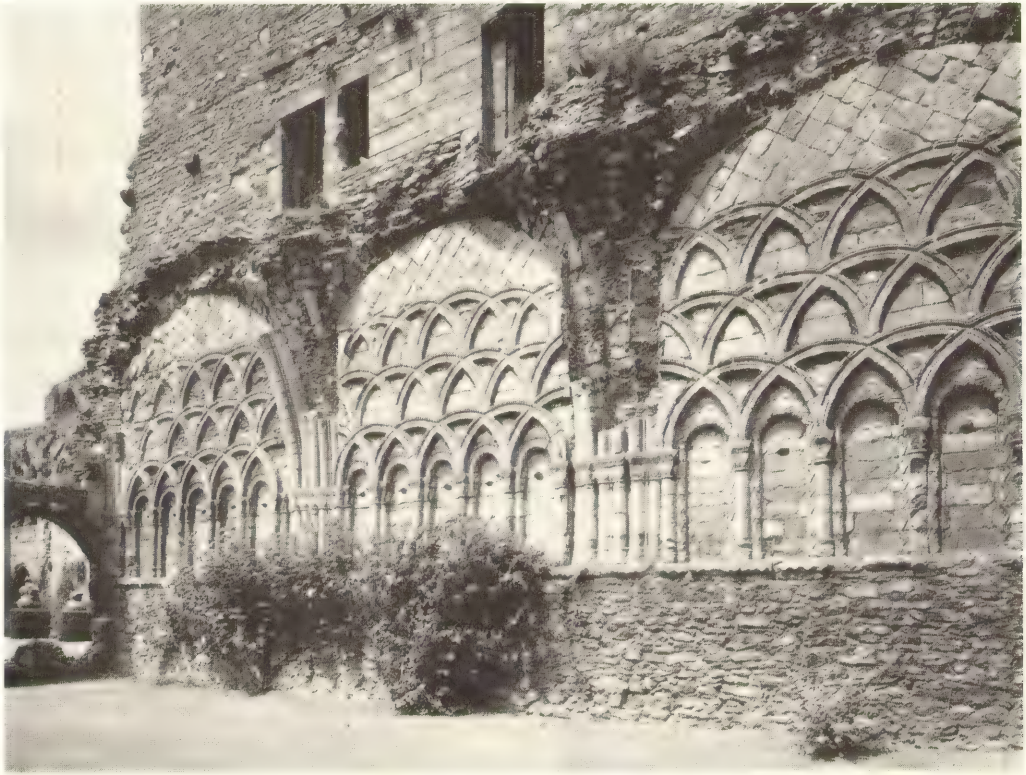

PLATE IV. *The Chapter House from south east*

The use to which this beautiful 'upper chamber' was put was considered by Dr. Cranage, but left without a solution. I venture to suggest that it was a chapel dedicated in honour of St. Michael. Since the seventh century the cave on Mount Gargano, in which St. Michael was reputed to have appeared in 492, had become one of the most famous pilgrimage places of Italy.[1] In France it became traditional to honour St. Michael in the upper storeys of churches. On the upper storey over the west door of the abbey church of Cluny the chapel of St. Michael projected into the nave with windows on the east, north and south, and on the west into the narthex.[2] On the north and south it was reached by flights of seventy steps in the thickness of the wall. Similar chapels on an upper storey are found in two Cluniac priories in Switzerland, Payerne, and Romainmoutier.[3] They occur also in the Benedictine abbey churches of Tournus[4] which, like Cluny, was in the diocese of Mâcon, at St. Benoît sur Loire,[5] and in the cathedral church of Nevers.[6]

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some of the monks of Wenlock had been to Cluny to be professed by the Abbot, and had seen the chapel of St. Michael over the west door. The two early fourteenth-century seals of Wenlock are evidence that St. Michael was honoured with St. Milburge. In the common seal of the priory there is a double canopy. In the left compartment St. Michael stands with sword and shield charged with a cross, trampling on a dragon; in the right compartment St. Milburge stands on a corbel. On the seal *ad causas* used for less important business, under a canopy St. Michael stands trampling on a dragon which he is piercing with a spear held in his right hand. On one occasion, the nomination of a new prior in 1438, the entry on the Patent Rolls is for the restoration of the temporalities of the priory of St. Michael and St. Milburge, Wenlock.[7]

The Abbot of Cluny alone was able to receive the professions of monks who were bound to cross the seas and take the long journey south through France to Cluny which lay twelve miles north-west of Mâcon unless the Abbot came to England, which occurred five times in the thirteenth century and twice in the fourteenth century.

In the Order of Cluny the priors were not elected but nominated by the heads of the mother house by which the first monks had been

[1] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du douzième siècle en France*, pp. 257–62.
[2] J. Virey, *Les Églises Romanes de l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon*, pp. 225, 226.
[3] Crosnier, 'Le Culte Aérien de S. Michel', *Société Française d'Archéologie, Bulletin Monumental*, xxviii. 698–700; cf. J. Vallery-Radot, 'Notes sur les chapelles hautes dédiées à S. Michel', *Bulletin Monumental*, lxxxviii. 453–78.
[4] C. Dickson, *Les Églises Romanes de l'ancien diocèse de Chalon*, pp. 319–22, 334, 335.
[5] G. Chenesseau, *L'Abbaye de Fleury à S. Benoît-sur-Loire*, p. 167, plate VIII.
[6] Cf. Note 4.
[7] Patent Roll 16 Henry VI, pt. 2, m. 32.

sent. The priors of Wenlock, therefore, were nominated by the priors of La Charité; on the death or resignation of a prior two monks set out for La Charité with the palfrey, cope, and breviary of the late prior as a gift to the prior of La Charité.[1]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Order which had been under the personal government of the Abbots of Cluny received a more definite organization. The Order was divided into provinces, and Paisley with its four dependent Scottish priories was included nominally in the province of England. One or more monks were appointed yearly by the Abbot of Cluny to visit each province and present a report at the general chapter which was held at Cluny on the third Sunday after Easter. All heads of priories were bound to attend the general chapter, but the presence of those from England was only required once in two years. The journey to the general chapter was felt to be a burden and expense, and letters of excuse are found among the documents from England. In 1245 Humbert, prior of Wenlock, wrote that he could not attend the general chapter at Cluny on account of difficult business concerning both Wenlock and Cluny. He judged it unsafe to write more, but the prior of Northampton would tell the abbot about it.[2]

A yearly payment called the census or apport in recognition of subjection was due to each mother house. Wenlock was bound by the charter of Earl Roger of Montgomery to pay 100 shillings a year to the prior of La Charité. The town gradually grew up around Wenlock priory, and before the middle of the thirteenth century the prior levied an annual tax of 100 shillings on the burgesses of Wenlock to pay the apport to La Charité, and they included this payment in the series of grievances of which they complained to Henry III, but did not succeed in freeing themselves from this imposition until 1342.[3]

Wenlock had been fortunate in the long rule of over forty years of Prior Humbert during which the new church had been built and the fine refectory. He acquired more land, but enclosures in the royal forest led to a heavy fine.[4]

The new prior, Aymo de Montibus, who succeeded him, reported in 1262 to the visitors of the general chapter of Cluny that the spiritual condition of the priory was excellent, the rules of silence and monastic life were observed. There were 44 monks. The house was over £1,000 in debt, but of this sum only £66 was borrowed from merchants at usury.[5]

[1] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, pp. 46, 47.
[2] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, vi. 333.
[3] Harl. Charter 45, A. 33; Eyton, op. cit. iii. 256; *Cal. of Letters Patent 1340–3*, p. 478.
[4] Eyton, op. cit. iii. 319.
[5] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii. 123.

The next prior, John, appears under several names; he was a Frenchman, who was promoted from Bermondsey and had almost ruined that priory through his dealings with the most notorious moneylender of the age, Adam of Stratton.[1] The visitors from Cluny reported in 1279: 'It is seven or eight years since the prior came. Probably the house is in debt for £1,200. There is no doubt that Wenlock will come to the same or greater confusion as Bermondsey or Northampton if he remains there long.'[2] It is almost incredible that he was promoted to Lewes Priory in 1285. Before his departure he sold the wool of Wenlock Priory for fourteen years in advance and took the money from the merchants and spent it.[3]

The financial difficulties into which several Cluniac priories had been plunged by speculations in land and wool by the priors drew attention to the unfortunate nominations of the abbots of Cluny and the priors of La Charité. In 1293 Edward I advised the abbot of Cluny to ordain that the goods of priories should not be dissipated by want of care of the priors who should be bound to leave their houses in as good a state as they received them or better. Unless the abbot should provide a suitable remedy he would be unable to refrain from putting forth his royal power.[4]

Two years later the prior of La Charité sent the prior of Coulanges to England as his viceregent, for both Bermondsey and Wenlock were in acute financial straits.[5] It is certain that the king and his faithful friend and servant Sir Otho de Grandison influenced the next nominations; for several priors of the Cluniac houses were countrymen or kinsfolk of Sir Otho, who took his name from Grandson on the shore of Lake Neuchâtel and had come to England with his uncle, Peter of Savoy, in 1258.[6] Wenlock was fortunate in the nomination of Henry de Bonvillars, near Grandson. He was a Cluniac monk from the priory of Payerne in the Swiss canton of Vaud, and he ruled over Wenlock more than thirty years until his death late in 1318 or early in 1319.[7] He was in high favour with Edward I.

Alien priories were a stumbling-block in the government of the Church almost throughout the thirteenth century, but their position in the State was not exposed to criticism until war broke out with France in the reign of Edward I.

[1] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, pp. 102–4, 122.
[2] Duckett, op. cit. ii. 137–9.
[3] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, p. 164.
[4] Close Roll 21 Edward I, m. 9d; Prynne, *Records*, iii. 570.
[5] Patent Rolls 12 Edward I, m. 4; 13 Edward I, m. 6; Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 19, file 2, no. 20 (Public Record Office).
[6] C. L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', *R. Hist. Soc. Transactions*, 3rd Series, iii. 125–88.
[7] Ibid., p. 179; Patent Roll 13 Edward I, m. 6.

In 1295 Philip, king of France, invaded Aquitaine, and Edward I seized the temporalities of the alien priories, i.e. of houses dependent on a foreign superior, who appointed and removed the prior and monks and received an annual payment or apport from them. Commissioners were appointed by the Crown to receive the revenues and provide a bare maintenance for the monks and their servants. A remarkable official form for dealing with 'alien religious' was drawn up and sent out in the name of the King and Council to the Commissioners in every county.[1] All foreign monks dwelling thirteen miles or less from the sea, or by waters bearing ships to the sea, were to be removed and sent either to their manors distant twenty miles at least away or to other houses of the same order and language. The chief guardian of alien religious in each county was responsible for putting in a parson or vicar or clerk in each alien priory, instructions were given that no stranger was to speak to the monks except in the presence of the guardian, that monks were to send no letters or messages, and they were to be confined to the precincts. The food allowance was 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for each monk, and an allowance for clothes and shoes was fixed at 10*s.* a year. As soon as the number of monks to be removed was known, they were to be sent with their beds and books to the place ordained for them on a fixed day, and if they were found going about the country afterwards they were to be arrested.

These official instructions were not carried out in detail. Some alien priories had influential patrons who interceded for them, and in many of them there was a large proportion of English monks, although the priors were French. It was found advisable to come to terms with individual houses and allow the priors to retain the custody of their houses on payment of a heavy annual tax which far exceeded the apport paid in time of peace to the mother houses in France. On October 4th, 1295, Edward I issued an order to the Sheriff of Shropshire to permit the prior of Wenlock to remain, after receiving from him sufficient surety that no damage to the King or his realm should arise from him or any of his men.[2] William de Grandison, a younger brother of the King's lifelong friend and faithful servant, Sir Otho de Grandison, had testified that Prior Henry de Bonvillars was not born of the power or lordship of the King of France; he came from Bonvillars near Grandson on the lake of Neuchâtel.

It was probably during the rule of Prior Henry de Bonvillars that the Lady Chapel at the extreme east end of the church was built,[3] though it may also date from the early years of his successor, the French

[1] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, i. 362–4.
[2] *Cal. of Close Rolls 1288–96*, p. 460; *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd Series, iii. 173.
[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 109.

monk Guichard de Charlieu, between 1320 and 1337. No new building could have been begun after the outbreak of war with France in 1337.

Prior Guichard de Charlieu ruled Wenlock for thirty-four years, a time of great anxiety. He had not been long in office when in 1324 the alien priories were seized by Edward II, but again the custody was restored to the prior through the intercession of another kinsman of the late Sir Otho de Grandison, by name William de Cusance.[1]

In 1337 the Hundred Years' War with France began, and Edward III issued a general order for the seizure of alien priories. In July Prior Guichard de Charlieu appeared before the King and Council and made instant petition for the keeping of his priory and of all lands, goods, and chattels. His request was granted with the stipulation that he should maintain the monks and servants and pay £60 down on August 10th and £110 at Easter, and thereafter £170 a year in equal sums at Michaelmas and Easter.[2] Comparing this sum with the assessment on which clerical tenths were levied, £170 a year was equivalent to a yearly income tax of 12*s.* in the £1. A clerical tenth was only an occasional tax of 2*s.* in the £1. A continuous payment of £170 a year was impossible; 1341 was a year of great agricultural distress in Shropshire. When the Crown assessors came round for the levy on the laity of a tax of a ninth on their corn, wool, and lambs, the parishioners declared on oath that the wheat was for the most part destroyed by dreadful storms, and there were no sheep owing to a general murrain, many tenants had thrown up their holdings, and their lands lay untilled.[3] The prior of Wenlock's tithes were unpaid or much reduced. He appeared before the King and Council with his sureties, and succeeded in getting a reduction from £170 a year to £133. 6*s.* 8*d.*[4] Another concession for which the prior paid £20 to the Exchequer was a licence to appropriate the churches of Stoke St. Milborough and Madley; the Bishop of Hereford ordered the rural dean to hold an inquiry, and when both local clergy and laymen had testified to the poverty of the priory, the Bishop sanctioned the appropriations of the two benefices, and the monks of Wenlock secured an additional revenue assessed at £15 a year.[5] The priory was in still greater financial straits in 1355, and the King reduced the yearly payment from £133. 6*s.* 8*d.* to £50 a year.[6]

From 1360 to 1369 England and France were at peace, and the alien priors merely paid taxes with the rest of the clergy, When war broke

[1] Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1127, no. 18; *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd Series, iii. 182.
[2] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, v. 31, 189, 258.
[3] *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, pp. 186–9.
[4] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, v. 276.
[5] Eyton, op. cit. iv. 10–12.
[6] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, vi. 425.

out again, more stringent measures than before were taken against alien priories. The sureties who were called in by the priors gave pledges that the prior would stay continually in his house, maintain the ancient number of monks and servants, find chaplains for chantries, and repair the buildings; and also that neither the prior, his monks, nor servants would pass out of the realm, reveal State affairs or secrets to foreigners by letter or by word of mouth, or send away money and jewels. Their sureties also promised that the prior would make the annual payments to the Exchequer, that he would alienate nothing, and do no waste or destruction. It was on these conditions that yet another French prior, Otto de Fleury, received the custody of the priory on February 16th, 1372, at a rent of £50 a year.[1]

National feeling against French monks was very bitter. The Commons petitioned in Parliament in 1376 that foreign superiors should appoint vicars-general in England, so that Englishmen should become priors, and that monks in Cluniac houses should be Englishmen, and all French monks banished.[2] The petition was marked as nothing done, but it had some effect, for all new priors of the most important Cluniac houses were Englishmen. In that year, on April 1st, 1376, William of Pontefract, who had been a monk of Wenlock for more than thirty-three years, was nominated as prior, and received the custody of the priory, but again under more strenuous conditions for the rent was raised to £66. 13*s.* 4*d.*[3] After the accession of Richard II in 1377 the terms imposed on them were even more severe. The Parliament demanded the immediate expulsion of all aliens, whether religious or secular, except only priors of conventual churches and others to whom the King might wish to show favour. Those priors who were allowed to keep their priories were required to pay the taxes levied on the clergy in addition to the yearly payment to the Exchequer, and yet they were bound to maintain houses and buildings in good repair.

A study of the ordination lists in the registers of the bishops of Hereford and of one register of Lichfield shows that most, if not all, of the monks of Wenlock were Englishmen drawn from the countryside. Prior Roger Wyvel, who succeeded in 1388, and the monks reviewed their financial situation and presented a petition to Richard II and the Council.[4] They alleged that since the first pestilence of the Black Death in 1349 their revenues were less by £200, the former priors had sold payments for life called corrodies for sums of money down to raise the annual payments to the Exchequer, and the house was in debt for £200, and they set out their expenses, showing no margin

[1] Ibid. viii. 156. [2] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, p. 114.
[3] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, viii. 344. Cf. ix. 25.
[4] Alien Priories E. 106 11/16 Richard II, m. 12 (Public Record Office).

for clothes, repairs of buildings of the priory and on the manors and on the chancels of appropriated churches and for lawsuits. They petitioned the King for release from the difficulties and burdens of alien status to which they had been subject because their priors and some of the monks had been Frenchmen. On February 20th, 1395, a charter of denization was granted to them for the sum of £400 paid into the Exchequer: henceforth they were to be reckoned as true Englishmen and relieved from the special taxes imposed on aliens. The grant was coupled with the condition that prayers should be offered with greater devotion for the King and the souls of his ancestors for ever, and that a yearly obit or service of remembrance should be kept for King Richard's very dear consort, Anne of Bohemia, who had died of pestilence at Shene on June 7th, 1394.[1]

After Wenlock received this charter of denization the apport of 100 shillings was never again paid to the mother house of La Charité; it was granted by the Crown to various persons,[2] and finally in 1441 to the provost and scholars of the King's College of St. Nicholas, Cambridge.[3]

Subsequently the history of Wenlock Priory was uneventful. I have written elsewhere on the English province of the Order of Cluny in the fifteenth century and followed the breaking of many of the links which bound the English Cluniac monasteries to the mother houses in France.[4] In 1494 Prior Richard Singer and the monks of Wenlock took steps to secure a bull from Pope Alexander VI by which Wenlock Priory was released from all dependence on Cluny and La Charité.[5]

The great eastern block containing a magnificent addition to the infirmary and the prior's lodging was built probably in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[6]

In the time of Prior Richard (1486–1521) extensive repairs were carried out in the choir. The story is told in a manuscript containing some miracles attributed to St. Milburge in which Prior Roland Gosenell or Bridgnorth (1521–6) wrote his name; it is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[7] It is therein related that over the high altar the vaulting was very fair to behold and it had been built with great strength and marvellous skill; cracks had appeared in the vaulting and it was in a most dangerous condition. Timber, ladders, and ropes were brought into the church, and the

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 78, no. ix.
[2] *Cal. of Close Rolls 1413–16*, p. 165.
[3] *Cal. of Patent Rolls 1436–41*, p. 557.
[4] *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, pp. 46–87.
[5] Ibid., p. 125.
[6] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 122–8.
[7] MS. 433 ff. 65v–7.

vaulting was taken down. The monks eagerly obeyed Prior Richard's bidding to assist in the operations in the new work in the choir; several workmen and one or more of the monks had serious falls, all of them made speedy recoveries which were attributed to the miraculous intervention of St. Milburge. It may be conjectured that the fifteenth-century hexagonal sacristy on the south side of the choir was built at this period.

The work was perhaps completed when, in 1504, the prior and monks agreed to pay £40 by half-yearly instalments of £10 to John Robynson, a vestment maker of London, for a cope of white damask, and suits of purple velvet and crimson velvet,[1] a suit as elsewhere probably included at least three copes, a chasuble, tunicles, fanons, stoles, amices, albes, and apparels.[2] In 1521 Prior Roland bought the little bells to ring at the Hours of service, and he put new glass into the greater part of the nave, which as was entered in the Register is commonly called 'Newe churche', although it was built three hundred years before, and whitewashed the walls.[3] He also painted the great hall and put new glass into some of the windows, and rebuilt the louver; Dr. Cranage has suggested, with great probability, that this was the fine thirteenth-century building south of the dormitory range, used as the prior's hall.[4]

The monastery was dissolved on January 26th, 1540. There were proposals for using the church and revenues for a new diocese; one was that there should be a see of Chester cum Wenlock, another of Shrewsbury cum Wenlock, but they came to nothing, and most of the buildings were destroyed. The eastern block was converted into one of the finest houses made out of monastic buildings in England.

[1] Wenlock Register, f. 3v in the possession of Lord Forester at Willey. At the request of Dr. Cranage the late Lord Forester deposited the Register at the Society of Antiquaries and I had the privilege of studying it.

[2] W. H. St. John Hope and E. G. C. F. Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours*, pp. 191–3.

[3] Wenlock Register, f. 22.

[4] *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 120.

Appendix I

A Note on the Seals

THE earliest known seal of the priory is attached to a grant made by Prior Humbert and the convent *circa* 1221–45.[1] The colour is green, the shape a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is broken round the edge. The design is St. Milburge (?) seated, her left hand outstretched, her right holding a rod or sceptre. The legend is SIG . . . . If, as is probable it is the seal of the convent, it is almost certainly its first seal.

The second seal is attached to the same document (*presentem cartam sigillis nostris roboravimus*). The colour is green, the shape a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The design is St. Milburge standing, holding a closed book. The legend is SIGILL . . . , and on an inner band round the figure + SANCTA MILDBURGA U (?). It is later than no. 1, and is probably the seal of the prior.

The seal of the priory with counter seal is attached to a document dated 1538.[2] The colour is red, the shape a pointed oval, $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The date of the seal is *circa* 1300. The design is a double canopy with side turrets; in the left compartment St. Michael with sword and shield charged with a cross, trampling on the dragon; in the right compartment St. Milburga standing on a corbel. Above, under an arch, the Virgin seated with the Child on her right knee; in the field on either side of her a star. The legend is SIGILL . ECCLE[E]SIE: CONVE[N]TVALIS: MONACHORVM D'.WENLOC.

The counter seal is circular, 1 inch. The design is St. Milburga half-length, crozier in right hand, book in left. The legend is ⋆SANCTA: MILBVRGA.

The seal of the priory *ad causas* is a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.[3] The design is under a canopy St. Michael trampling on the dragon, which he is piercing with a spear held in his right hand; in his left hand he holds a small, round target-shield, with central and eight surrounding bosses. The legend is S'. ECCL'.IE: CONVENTUALIS . DE . WENLOK: AD CAVSAS TANTUM.

[1] In the ownership of Mrs. Ward (in 1939); it was known to the editors of Dugdale in 1825.

[2] Harl. Charter 83, D. 3.

[3] From a cast, *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, i, no. 4293.

Appendix II

Priors of Wenlock

Peter[1] occurs 1120.
Rainald occurs 1138–9, 1148, 1150?
Humbald occurs between 1155 and 1160; 1169, 1170.
Peter de Leia; promoted bishop of St. David's 1176.
Henry.
Robert occurs 1192.
Joybert.
Humbert occurs 1221, ob. 1261.
Aymo de Montibus,[2] nominated by the prior of La Charité; died 1272.[3]
John de Tycford, 1272,[4] nominated by the prior of La Charité; promoted to Lewes 1285.[5]
Henry de Bonvillars,[6] nominated by the prior of La Charité; died 1321.[7]
Guichard de Charlieu,[8] nominated by the prior of La Charité.
Henry de Myons or de Chay,[9] 1354.
Otto de Fleury.[10]
William of Pontefract.[11]
Roger Wyvel[12] or Wynel; died 1397.[13]
John Stafford, 1397,[14] nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the prior of Bermondsey, acting in the place of the prior of La Charité during the schism in the papacy; resigned 1435.[15]
William Brugge of Wenlock, 1435, nominated by the prior of Lewes, vicar-general and chamberlain in England of the prior of La Charité;[16] resigned 1438.[17]

[1] The authority for the first eight priors in this list is Eyton, op. cit. iii. 249, 250.
[2] *Cal. of Patent Rolls 1258–60*, p. 171.
[3] Patent Roll 57 Henry III, m. 1.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2 (Public Record Office); *Sussex Archaeol. Soc. Collections*, ii. 35.
[6] Patent Roll 13 Ed. I, m. 6.
[7] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, Ed. II, ii. 273.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, vi. 383.
[10] Ibid. viii. 156.
[11] Ibid. viii. 344.
[12] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, x. 237.
[13] Patent Roll 20 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 25.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Patent Roll 13 Henry VI, m. 6.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Patent Roll 16 Henry VI, pt. 2, m. 32.

Roger Barry, 1438,[1] nominated by the prior of Monks Horton, vicar and proctor in England of the prior of La Charité; died 1462.[2]

Owing to the Wars of the Roses and the attempt of the priors of La Charité to recover the right of direct nomination there were rival priors.

William Walweyn, March 12th, 1462, monk of Worcester, nominated by Edward IV.[3]

Roger Wenlock,[4] July 11th, 1462, nominated by the prior of La Charité; died 1468.[5]

John Stratton,[6] 1468, nominated by Edward IV.

John Shrewsbury,[7] 1471, nominated by the prior of La Charité in the place of Roger Wenlock. He was kept out for eight years by the King's nominee, John Stratton, who secured a warrant for the arrest of his rival and three other monks.[8] Temporalities restored to John Shrewsbury 1479;[9] resigned 1482.[10]

Thomas Sudbury,[11] 1482, nominated by the prior of Northampton, vicar and commissary-general of the prior of La Charité; resigned 1485.[12]

Richard Singer,[13] 1486, nominated by John Shrewsbury, commissary and vicar-general of the prior of La Charité, vacant by the resignation of John Shrewsbury; died 1521.[14]

Roland Gosenell,[15] *elected* 1521; resigned 1526.[16]

John Bayly,[17] *elected* 1526; surrendered the priory in 1540.

[1] Patent Roll 16 Henry VI, pt. 2, m. 32.
[2] Patent Roll 2 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 9.
[3] Ibid., mm. 21 and 15.
[4] Ibid., m. 9.
[5] Ibid., 8 Ed. IV, pt. 2, m. 23.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 11 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 10.
[8] Chancery Warrants, Series I, no. 1787.
[9] Patent Roll 19 Ed. IV, m. 25.
[10] Ibid., 22 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 22.
[11] Ibid.
[12] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, p. 85.
[13] Patent Roll 2 Henry VII, pt. 2, m. 5(9).
[14] R. Graham, op. cit., p. 126.
[15] Ibid., pp. 126–30.
[16] Eyton, op. cit. iii. 253.
[17] R. Graham, op. cit., p. 137.

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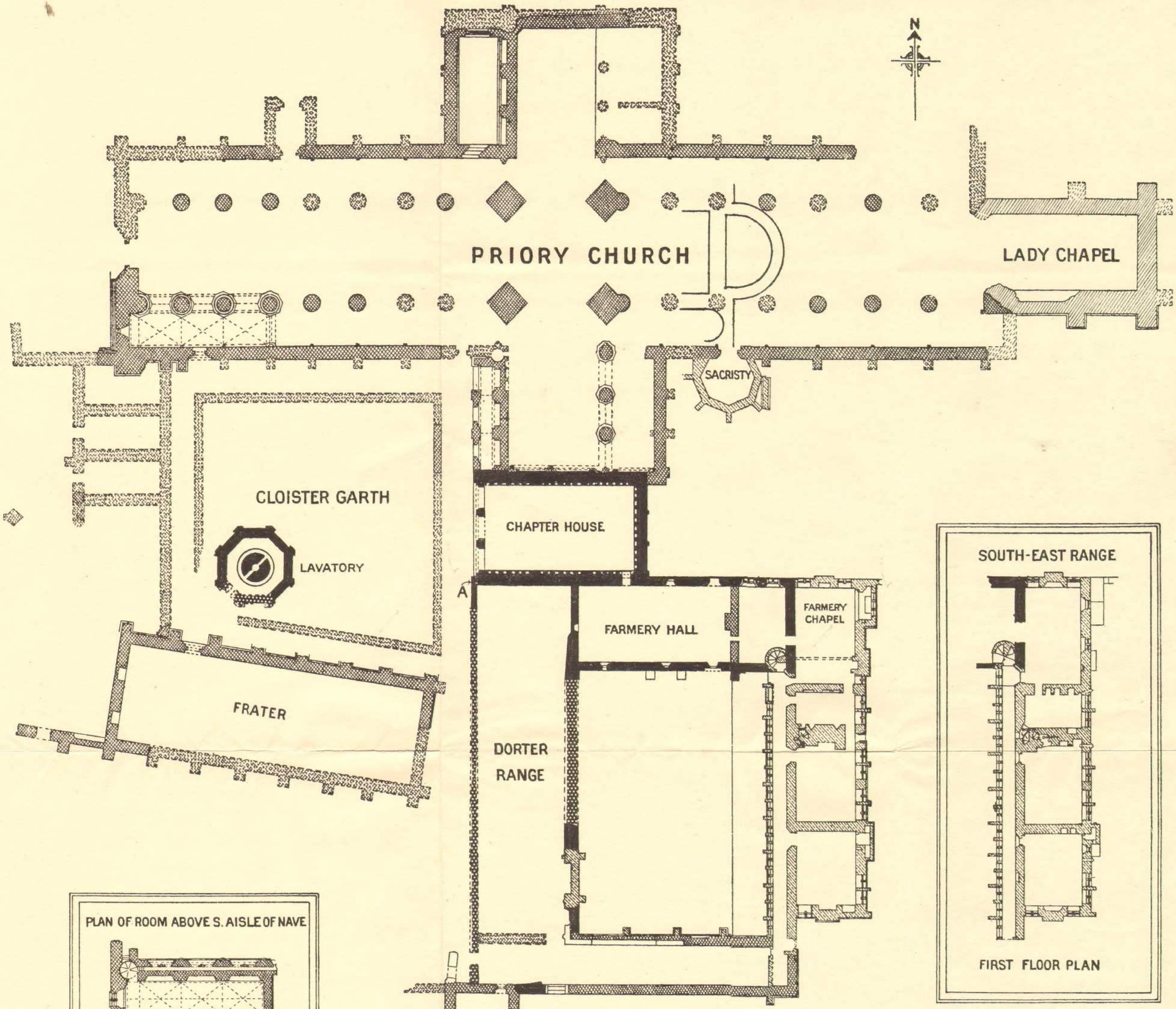

WENLOCK PRIORY

P.W. Hubbard M.A. A.R.I.B.A.
Mens. et del. Sept. 1922

with the addition in outline of the apses excavated in 1901

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